

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 195279

17
ORIGIN EUR-04

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /005 R

66011
DRAFTED BY:EUR/SOV:RCHAMPAGNE:RVC
APPROVED BY:EUR/SOV:SMCCALL
----- 026984

R 060222Z AUG 76
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 195279

FOL REPEAT USNATO 4253 ACTION SECSTATE JULY 30, 1976

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 4253

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO, XG
SUBJECT: POLADS DISCUSSION OF ECPC

REF: STATE 168273

1. THERE FOLLOWS TEXT OF INITIAL ANALYSIS OF ECPC PRE-
PARED BY NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF ON BASIS OF CONTRIBUTIONS
BY SEVERAL DELEGATIONS TO POLADS CONSIDERATION OF THIS SUBJECT.
THIS DRAFT WILL BE DISCUSSED FOR FIRST TIME
BY POLADS AT AUGUST 5 MEETING. WE EXPECT THAT FOLLOWING
FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THIS PAPER IN POLADS, IT WILL BE
FORWARDED TO THE NAC. ACTION REQUESTED: ANY COMMENT
WASHINGTON MAY WISH TO PROVIDE IN TIME FOR AUGUST 5 OR
SUBSEQUENT POLADS MEETING. END ACTION REQUEST.

2. ITALIAN, DANISH, CANADIAN, FRENCH, FRG, AND UK DELE-
GATIONS HAVE DISTRIBUTED ANALYSES OF ECPC WHICH WE ARE
REPORTING BY AIRGRAM.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 195279

3. BEGIN TEXT OF IS DRAFT PAPER:

THE CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, WHICH
FINALLY TOOK PLACE IN EAST BERLIN ON 29TH AND 30TH JUNE

AND CULMINATED IN THE APPROVAL OF A FINAL DOCUMENT "FOR PEACE, SECURITY, COOPERATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN EUROPE", NOT ONLY REVEALED THAT A SPLIT HAD DEVELOPED BETWEEN THE RULING ORTHODOX PARTIES AND THE "INDEPENDENT" PARTIES; BUT IT ALSO CARRIED THE TREND A STAGE FURTHER BY ALLOWING THE POINTS AT ISSUE TO BE AIRED IN PUBLIC.

2. PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONFERENCE LASTED ALMOST TWO YEARS. FROM THE OUTSET, THEY WERE COMPLICATED BY THE REFUSAL OF THE INDEPENDENT PARTIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, BACKED BY THE ROMANIAN AND YUGOSLAV PARTIES, TO ENDORSE A BINDING "DETAILED PROGRAMME FOR JOINT ACTION" LAYING DOWN A GENERAL LINE FOR COMMUNIST OBJECTIVES AND TACTICS IN EUROPE AFTER THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE.

THE NEGOTIATIONS FAILED TO RESOLVE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES OVER INTER-PARTY RELATIONS, THE ATTITUDE TO BE TAKEN VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET MODEL, MOSCOW'S ASPIRATIONS TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE, AND THE STRATEGY THAT SHOULD BE ADOPTED BY THE WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES STILL IN OPPOSITION IN ORDER TO COME TO POWER OR BE GIVEN A SHARE IN GOVERNMENT.

3. THE SOVIET UNION'S MAIN AIMS WERE TO PERSUADE THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES TO SUPPORT THE DIPLOMATIC PROGRAMME DRAWN UP ON MOSCOW AND TO REASSUME CONTROL OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, STARTING WITH EUROPE. THE FACT THAT THE CONFERENCE DID TAKE PLACE, AND ITS LARGE ATTENDANCE (29 PARTICIPANTS AS COMPARED WITH 24 AT KARLOVY VARY IN 1967, INCLUDING PARTICULAR MARSHAL TITO), IN ITSELF REPRESENTS A SUCCESS FOR THE SOVIET UNION, AND WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE HAILED AS SUCH. THE SOVIETS ALSO SECURED THE UNANIMOUS APPROVAL OF A DOCUMENT REFLECTING THE MAIN ASPECTS OF THEIR FOREIGN POLICY. THE CONFERENCE MARKED A FURTHER STEP TOWARDS GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. THE FINAL DOCUMENT HIGHLIGHTS THE TWO MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS OF THIS MEETING: THE RECOGNITION OF EACH CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 195279

PARTY'S INALIENABLE RIGHT TO CHOOSE ITS OWN ROAD TO SOCIALISM; AND THE IDEA THAT DETENTE IN NO WAY IMPLIES ACCEPTANCE OF THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STATUS QUO. HOWEVER, IT WOULD BE GOING TOO FAR TO VIEW THE FINAL DOCUMENT AS A CHARTER ATTESTING TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES. WHERE INTER-PARTY RELATIONS ARE CONCERNED, THE CONCEPT OF PRELETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM HAS GIVEN WAY TO THAT OF "INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY BASED ON THE IDEAS OF MARX, ENGELS AND LENIN"; BUT THE VERY VIRULENCE OF CERTAIN AFFIRMATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE IS IN ITSELF AN INDICATION THAT MOSCOW'S CENTRALISING INFLUENCE IS STILL VERY MUCH AT PLAY.

4. IN HIS SPEECH IN EAST BERLIN - WHICH WAS FARILY CONCILIATORY IN TONE - MR. BREZHNEV MADE A POINT OF GOING OVER THE IDEAS CHALLENGED BY THE INDEPENDENT PARTIES. WHILE RECOGNISING THAT EACH COUNTRY IS ENTITLED TO FOLLOW ITS OWN ROAD TO SOCIALISM, HE NONE THE LESS REAFFIRMED THAT, IRRESPECTIVE OF SPECIFIC TACTICS, STRATEGIES AND CONCRETE SITUATIONS, ALL THE COMMUNIST PARTIES HAVE ONE AND THE SAME AIM AND THAT "A GREAT DEAL DEPENDS ON THE SOLIDARITY OF THEIR FORCES". AFTER CONTENDING THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF SETTING UP AN INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR COMMUNISM, HE PAID A GLOWING TRIBUTE TO PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM; THIS, IT MAY BE NOTED IN PASSING, IS NOT MENTIONED IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT AND HAS BEEN REPLACED BY "INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY". REFERRING TO THE POLICY OF ALLIANCES WITH NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES, ESPECIALLY WITH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND CHRISTIANS, HE INDEED RECOGNISES THAT THIS HAS ITS MERITS, BUT ALSO POINTS OUT THAT CERTAIN LIMITS SHOULD BE OBSERVED: "COMMUNISTS ARE STILL TRUE REVOLUTIONARIES, AND ARE FIRMLY RESOLVED TO REPLACE THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM WITH THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM. THIS IS THE PRIME AIM OF ALL THEIR EFFORTS". WHEREAS VARIOUS COMMUNIST PARTIES, AND ESPECIALLY THAT OF ITALY, HAD STRESSED THAT THE CONFERENCE WAS NOT PART OF ANY CONTINUING PROCESS, NOR WAS IT INTENDED AS A FOLLOW-UP TO ANY MEETING OR AS A FIRST STEP TOWARDS ANY OTHERS, THE GNERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU MADE A BRIEF REFERENCE TO THE KARLOVY-VARY CONFERNECE (WITHOUT MENTIONING IT BY NAME), POINTING
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 195279

OUT THAT THE MAIN ASPECTS OF THE PROGRAMME THEN LAID DOWN HAD BEEN IMPLEMENTED. HE ALSO REFERRED TIN OBSCURE TERMS TO THE DESIRABILITY OF HOLDING "ULTI-PARTY MEETINGS" FOR THE PURPOSE OF EXCHANGING INFORMATION AND COMPARING NOTES ON SPECIFIC PROBLEMS. ALTHOUGH IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE DOCUMENT WOULD CONTAIN NO ATTACKS ON CHINA, MR. BREZHNEV MADE TWO CRITICAL REFERENCES TO THIS COUNTRY. LIKEWISE, WHILE IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT THE FINAL DOCUMENT WOULD NOT BE BINDING,THE WAY MR. BREZHNVEV DESCRIBED THE OBLIGATIONS DERIVING FROM IT IN SO FAR AS THE USSR WAS CONCERNED POSTULATES A SIMILAR ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE OTHER COMMUNIST PARTIES. THE SPEECH ADDS NOTHING TO THE POINTS MADE BY MR. BREZHNEV IN FEBRUARY AT THE 25TH CONGRESS; IT DOES, HOWEVER, INDICATE THAT MOSCOW'S APPROVAL OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT ISSUED AT THE END OF THE MEETING WAS A MERE MATTER OF FORM: PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IS NOT A DEAD LETTER AND SOVIET POLICY IS CONSIDERED TO BE EXEMPLARY.

5. THE ADDRESSES BY THE OTHER SPEAKERS REFLECT THREE ATTITUDES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION: ORTHODOXY (THE CZECH AND EAST GERMAN PARTIES), A MEASURE OF CAUTION

(THE POLISH AND HUNGARIAN PARTIES) AND CONTESTATION (THE "INDEPENDENT" PARTIES). THE LAST GROUP REJECTED THE SOVIET POSITIONS ON BASIC ISSUES. MR. CEAUSESCU DID NOT USE THE TERM "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM"; ON THE OTHER HAND, HE ASSRTED THAT IT WAS LESS POSSIBLE OR NECESSARY THAN EVER TO SET UP AN INTERNATIONAL CENTRE; HE SPOLE OUT STRONGLY IN FAVOUR OF THE CONCEPT OF NATIONHOOD WHICH, IN HIS VIEW, WAS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE NEW INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AS THIS MUST BE FORGED "WITH DUE REGARD FOR EACH PARTY'S INDEPENDENCE". MARSHAL TITO AGAIN CONTENDED THAT EACH NATION HAS A RIGHT TO TAKE ITS OWN ROAD TO SOCIALISM AND EXTOLLED THE VIRTUES OF NON-ALIGNMENT WHICH, HE CLAIMED, HAD BECOME A POWERFUL INTERNATIONAL FACTOR, VITAL TO THE SOLUTION OF WORLD PROBLEMS. MR. BERLINGUER SEEMS TO HAVE GONE OUT OF HIS WAY TO BE PROVOCATIVE BY REFERRING TO THE ERRORS MADE BY THE SOVIET UNION IN BUILDING SOCIALISM, BY EMPHASIZING THE SPECIAL NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS CONFRONTING COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED CAPI-
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 195279

TALIST COUNTRIES, BY EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE PRESERVATION OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES AND THE PLURALIST PARTY SYSTEM AND EVEN BY DENOUNCING THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA. MR. MARCHAIS STATED THAT MOSCOW COULD BE NEITHER A MODEL NOR A MASTER AND THAT NEW ROADS TO SOCIALISM MUST BE EXPLORED, WHILE MR. CARRILLO CONCLUDED WITH A BALD AND RESOLUTE STATEMENT THAT THE COMMUNISTS HAD REACHED ADULTHOOD AND THAT MOSCOW COULD NOT LONGER BE REGARDED AS THEIR ROME.

6. TO A LARGE EXTENT, THE CONFERENCE AS AN ADMISSION OF SOVIET INABILITY TO EXERCISE CLOSE CONTROL OVER THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT; IN THIS RESPECT IT REPRESENTED THE LEAST THE SOVIET LEADERS COULD OBTAIN. THE REASON THEY NONE THE LESS PRESSED SO STRONGLY FOR IT TO BE HELD WAS THAT THEY COULD NO LONGER DRAW BACK, AND ALSO BECAUSE THEY WANTED A SHOW OF UNITY FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES. MR. BREZHNEV'S ADDRESS, TOO, WAS DESIGNED TO PROCLAIM THE DOGMA OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND THE PRE-EMINENCE OF MOSCOW, THUS REBUTTING THE MAIN POINTS IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE.

7. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE RUSSIANS SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING FROM THE WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES ENDORSEMENT, ALBEIT IN NON-BINDING FORM, OF MOSCOW'S FOREIGN POLICY VIS-A-VIS EUROPE, THE WEST IN GENRAL AND NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE THIRD WORLD. AT THE SAME TIME, THE RUSSIANS HAVE NOT ABANDONED THEIR AMBITION TO CONTINUE CALLING THE TUNE IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. ALTHOUGH A NEW ERA APPEARS TO HAVE BEGUN FOR THE WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES, IT IS NOT

CERTAIN THAT THEIR NEW ELECTORAL IMAGE WILL SWING THE
BALANCE IN THEIR FAVOUR AT THEIR POLLS. THE DECLARATIONS
OF DIVERSITY DO NOT ALTER THE FACT THAT THE "INDEPENDENT"
COMMUNIST PARTIES SHARE A COMMON DOCTRINE WITH THE CPSU
AND THAT THEY ARE PURSUING THE SAME GOAL - THE OVERTHROW
OF PRESENT WESTERN POLITICAL SYSTEMS. THE SOVIETS, FOR
THEIR PART, WANT TO SEE DISCIPLINED COMMUNIST PARTIES
IN WESTERN EUROPE, STRONG ENOUGH TO WEAKEN WESTERN
SOCIETY BUT NOT LARGE ENOUGH TO ALTER THE EAST-WEST
BALANCE OR ASSERT THEIR INDEPENDENCE VIS-A-VIS MOSCOW.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 195279

THEY DO NOT APPEAR READY TO LOOK WITH UNQUALIFIED FAVOUR
ON THE POSSIBILITY OF WESTERN COMMUNIST PARTIES COMING
TO POWER OR SECURING SHARE IN GOVERNMENT.

8. IN EASTERN EUROPE, THE HARD REALITIES OF THE
SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE AND INCREASED INTEGRATION IN
COMECON WILL LIMIT ANY DESTABILISING EFFECTS THAT THE
CONFERENCE MAY HAVE. WHILE THE DOCTRINE OF LIMITED
SOVEREIGNTY STILL HOLDS GOOD, THE SOVIETS ARE AWARE THAT
A REPETITION OF THE EVENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968
MIGHT LEAD TO A DEEPER SCHISM IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST
MOVEMENT AND WILL TRY TO TIGHTEN THEIR CONTROL IN EASTERN
EUROPE SO AS TO AVOID ANY NEED FOR SUCH INTERVENTION.

9. THE CONFERENCE IS UNLIKELY TO HAVE ANY REPER-
CUSSIONS IN SOVIET INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE CPSU HARD-
LINERS CANNOT BE ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE CONCILIATORY
APPROACH WHICH WAS FINALLY ADOPTED, BUT THE SOVIET MEDIA
ARE NOW BUSY PRESENTING THE CONFERENCE AS A SUCCESS FOR
THE SOVIET PEACE POLICY AND A MAJOR STEP IN PROMOTING
COMMUNIST SOLIDARITY. IN HIS TOAST AT THE END OF THE
CLOSING CEREMONY, MR. BREZHNEV GAVE SOME INDICATION OF
WHAT MAY BE THE FUTURE SOVIET ATTITUDE: AFTER REFERRING
TO THE RICHLY-TINTED LANDSCAPE OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, HE REPEATED IN SUBSTANCE THAT ALTHOUGH
THE PATHS TAKEN BY EACH COUNTRY MIGHT BE DIFFERENT, THE
MAIN THING WAS TO PURSUE COMMON GOALS.
END TEXT.

4. DEPARTMENT REPEAT AS DESIRED. STRAUSS-HUPE

UNQUOTE. HABIB

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 15 SEP 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ALLIANCE, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, COMMUNISTS, PARTY MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 AUG 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: coburnhl
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE195279
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter:
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D760303-0253
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t197608103/baaaepra.tel
Line Count: 265
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: coburnhl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <05 AUG 2004 by coburnhl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: POLADS DISCUSSION OF ECPC
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, XG, NATO
To: n/a INFO MOSCOW
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006